

Reagan in Europe: A Pledge to Improve Defenses and Seek Agreements

Text of President's Address in West Germany on Arms and Disarmament

BONN, June 9 (AP) — Following is the text of President Reagan's address to the West German Parliament today, as made public by White House officials.

I am very honored to speak to you today and thus to all the people of Germany. Next year we will jointly celebrate the 30th anniversary of the first German settlement in the American colonies. The 13 families who came to this new land were the forefathers of more than seven million German immigrants to the United States. Today more Americans claim German ancestry than any other.

These Germans cleared and cultivated our land, built our industries and advanced our arts and sciences. In honor of 300 years of German contributions in America, President Carsten and I have agreed today that he will pay an official visit to the United States in October of 1983 to celebrate the occasion.

The German people have given us so much, we like to think that we have repaid some of that debt. Our American Revolution was the first revolution in modern history to be fought for the rights of self-government and the guarantee of civil liberties. That spirit was contagious. In 1849 the Frankfurt Parliament's statement of basic human rights guaranteed freedom of expression, freedom of religion and equal rights today in the basic law of the Federal Republic. Many people to the east still wait for such rights.

The United States is proud of your democracy, but we cannot take credit for it. Heinrich Heine, in speaking of the cathedrals of medieval times, said that "in those days people had convictions. We moderns have only opinions." Over the past 30 years, the convictions of the German people have built a cathedral of democracy—a great and glorious testament to your ideals.

We in America genuinely admire the free society you have built in only a few decades. And we understand all the better what you have accomplished, because of our own history. Americans speak with the deepest reverence of those founding fathers, and first citizens who gave us the freedoms we enjoy today. And even though they lived over 200 years ago, we carry them in our hearts as well as in our history books.

I believe future generations of Germans will look to you here today and to your fellow Germans with the same profound respect and appreciation. You have built a free society with an abiding faith in human dignity—the crowning ideal of Western civilization. This will not be forgotten. You will be saluted and honored by this republic's descendants over the centuries to come.

A Partnership for Peace

Yesterday, before the British Parliament, I spoke of the values of Western civilization and the necessity to help all peoples gain the institutions of freedom. In many ways, in many places, our ideals are being tested today. We are meeting this afternoon between two important summits, the gathering of leading industrial democracies at Versailles and the assembling of the Atlantic alliance here in Bonn tomorrow. Critical and complex problems face us. But our dilemmas will be made easier if we remember our partnership is based on a common Western heritage and a faith in democracy.

I believe this partnership of the Atlantic alliance nations is motivated primarily by the search for peace. Inner peace for our citizens and peace among nations.

Why inner peace? Because democracy allows for self-expression. It respects man's dignity and creativity. It operates by rule of law, not by terror or coercion. It is government with the consent of the governed. As a result, citizens of the Atlantic alliance enjoy an unprecedented level of material and spiritual well-being. And they are finding their own personal peace. We also seek peace among nations. The Peacemaker said, "Seek peace and pursue it." Our foreign policies are based on this principle and directed toward this end. The noblest objective of diplomacy is the patient and difficult task of reconciling our adversaries to peace. And I know we all look forward to the day when the only industry of war will be the research of historians.

The Threats to Peace
But the struggle for peace is not enough. We must remember something Friedrich Schiller said, "The most pious man can't stay in peace if it doesn't please his evil neighbor." So there must be a method to our search, a method that recognizes the dangers and realities of the world. During

What the U.S. is Doing
This depends in part on a strong America. A national effort, entailing sacrifices by the American people, now under way to make long-overdue improvements in our military posture. The American people support

Reduction of Ground Troop Levels in Europe

■ NATO countries

■ Warsaw Pact countries



| Current Levels | U.S. Count: | Soviet Count: |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| 791,000 | 962,000 | 805,000 |
| Reagan Proposal | — Reduce to common ceiling of 700,000 — | |
| Previous Western Proposal | | |
| First phase: | U.S. would withdraw 13,000 troops | Soviet Union would withdraw 30,000 troops |
| Second phase: | — Reduce to common ceiling of 700,000 — | |

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this effort because they understand how fundamental it is to keeping the peace they so fervently desire. We also are resolved to maintain the presence of well-equipped and trained forces in Europe, and our strategic forces will be modernized and remain committed to the alliance. By these actions, the people of the United States are saying: "We are with you, Germany. You are not alone." Our adversaries would be foolishly mistaken should they gamble that Americans would abandon their alliance responsibilities, no matter how severe the test.

Alliance security depends on a fully credible conventional defense on which all allies contribute. There is a danger that any conflict could escalate to a nuclear war. Strong conventional forces can make the danger of conventional or nuclear conflict more readily assessable. Strength in and of itself is not bad; it is honorable when used to maintain peace or defend deeply-held beliefs.

The Respect of the West
One of the first chores is to fulfill our commitments to each other by continuing to strengthen our conventional defenses. This must include improving the readiness of our standing forces and the ability of those forces to operate as one. We must also apply the West's technological genius to improving our conventional defenses.

There can be no doubt that we as an

alliance have the means to improve our conventional defenses. Our people hold values of individual liberty and dignity that time and again they have proven willing to defend. Our economic energy vastly exceeds that of our adversaries. Our free system has produced technological advantages that other systems, with their stifling ideologies, cannot hope to equal. All of these resources are available to our defense.

Yet, many of our nations currently are expending economic difficulties. Yet we must nevertheless guarantee that our security does not suffer as a result. We've made strides in conventional defense over the last few years despite our economic problems, and we have disproved the pessimists who contended that our efforts are futile. The more we close the conventional gap, the less the risks of aggression or nuclear conflict.

The soil of Germany, and every other ally, is of vital concern to each member of the alliance, and this fundamental commitment is embodied in the North Atlantic Treaty. But it will be an empty pledge unless we learn that American forces are ready to reinforce Europe, and Europe is ready to receive them. I am encouraged by the recent agreement on wartime host-nation support. This pact strengthens our ability to deter aggression in Europe and demonstrates our common determination to respond to attack.

States that has proposed and will pursue deep cuts in strategic systems. It is the West that has long sought the detailed exchanges of information on forces and effective verification procedures. And it is dictators, not democracies, that need militarism to control their own people and impose their system on others.

Backing Arms Control

We in the West—Germans, Americans, our other allies—are deeply committed to continuing efforts to restrict the arms competition. Common sense demands that we persevere. I invite those who genuinely seek effective and lasting arms control to stand behind the far-reaching proposals that we have put forward. In return I pledge that we will sustain the closest of consultations with our allies.

On Nov. 15, I outlined a broad and ambitious arms control program. One element calls for reducing land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles to zero on each side. If carried out, it would eliminate the growing threat to Western Europe posed by the U.S.S.R.'s modern SS-20 rockets, and it would make unnecessary the NATO decision to deploy American intermediate-range systems. And, by the way, I cannot understand why, among some, there is a greater fear of weapons NATO is to deploy than of weapons the Soviet Union already has deployed. Our proposal is fair because it imposes equal limits and obligations on both sides and it calls for significant reductions, not merely a capping of an existing high level of destructive power. As you know, we have made this proposal in Geneva, where negotiations have been under way since the end of November last year. We intend to pursue those negotiations intensively. I regard them as a significant test of the Soviet's willingness to enter into meaningful arms control agreements.

Talks to Start June 29

On May 9, we proposed to the Soviet Union that strategic arms reductions talks begin this month in Geneva. The U.S.S.R. has agreed, and talks will begin on June 29. We in the United States want to focus on the most destabilizing systems and thus reduce the risk of war. That is why in the first phase we propose to reduce substantially the number of ballistic missile warheads and the missiles themselves. In the second phase we will seek to equal cutting other elements of our strategic forces, including ballistic missile throw weight, at less than current American levels. Yet we will handle cruise missiles and bombers in an equitable fashion. We will negotiate in good faith and understand these talks with the same seriousness of purpose that has marked our preparations over the last several months.

Another element of the program I outlined was a call for reductions in conventional forces in Europe. From the earliest postwar years, the Western democracies have faced the ominous reality that massive Soviet conventional forces would remain stationed where they do not belong. The muscle of Soviet forces in Central Europe far exceeds legitimate defense needs. Their presence is made more threatening still by a military doctrine that emphasizes mobility and surprise attack. And as history shows, these troops have built a legacy of intimidation and repression.

The Will and the Capacity

In response, the NATO allies must show they have the will and capacity to deter any conventional attack or any attempt to intimidate them. Yet we also will continue the search for responsible ways to reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact military personnel to equal levels.

In recent weeks, we in the alliance have consulted on how best to invigorate the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions. Based on these consultations, Western representatives in the Vienna talks soon will make a proposal by which the two alliances would reduce their respective ground force personnel in verifiable stages to a total of 700,000 men and their combined ground and air force personnel to a level of 800,000 men.

While the agreement would not eliminate the threat nor spare our citizens the task of maintaining a substantial defensive force, it could constitute a major step toward a safer Europe for both East and West. It could lead to military stability at lower levels and lessen the dangers of miscalculation and of surprise attack. And it also would demonstrate the political will of the two alliances to enhance stability by limiting their forces in the central area of their military competition.

Goals and Plans of the West

The West has established a clear set of goals. We as an alliance will press actively and modernization programs, forward with plans to improve our own conventional forces in Europe. At the same time, we propose an arms control agreement to equalize conventional forces at a significantly lower level.

We will move ahead with our preparations to modernize our nuclear forces in Europe. But, again, we also will be unwilling to gain acceptance in Geneva of our proposal to ban land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

In the United States, we will move forward with the plans I announced last year to modernize our strategic nuclear forces, which play so vital a role in maintaining peace by deterring war. Yet we also have proposed that Strategic Arms Reductions Talks begin, and we will pursue them determinedly.

Seeking a Stable Balance

In each of these areas our policies are based on the conviction that a stable military balance at the lowest possible level will help further the cause of peace. The other side will respond in good faith to these initiatives only if it believes we are resolved to provide for our own defense. Unless convinced that we will unite and stay

united behind these arms control initiatives, the Soviet Union will press actively and modernization programs, forward with plans to improve our own conventional forces in Europe. At the same time, we propose an arms control agreement to equalize conventional forces at a significantly lower level.

I am optimistic about our relationship with the Soviet Union if the Western nations remain true to their values and true to each other. I believe in Western civilization and in its moral power. I believe deeply in the principles the West esteems. And guided by these ideals, I believe we can find a non-nonsense, workable and lasting policy that will keep the peace.

Earlier I said the German people had built a remarkable cathedral of democracy. But we still have other work ahead. We must build a cathedral of peace, where nations are safe from war and where people need not fear for their liberties. I've heard the history of the famous cathedral at Cologne—how those beautiful soaring spires miraculously survived the destruction all around them, including part of the church itself.

Let us build a cathedral as the people of Cologne built theirs—with the deepest commitment and determination. Let us build as they did—not just for ourselves but for the generations beyond. For if we construct our peace properly, it will endure as long as the spires of Cologne.

"There's a lot of that going around."

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Wednesday in
The Living Section
in your copy of
The New York Times



United Press International
President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, being greeted by Christiana Barbara Bachman yesterday in Bonn. At rear is President Karl Carstens of West Germany. Christina, 7, is the daughter of Mr. Carstens's driver.

Arms Control Efforts

Those who advocate that we unilaterally forgo the modernization of our forces must prove that this will enhance our security and lead to moderation by the other side—in short, that we will advance, rather than undermine, the preservation of the peace. The weight of recent history does not support this notion.

Those who demand that we renounce the use of a crucial element of our deterrent strategy must show how this would decrease the likelihood of

war, it is only by comparison with a nuclear war that the underlying cause of conventional war seems a lesser evil. Our goal must be to deter war of any kind.

And those who decry the failure of arms control efforts to achieve substantial results must consider where the fault lies. I would remind them it is the United States that has proposed to ban land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. It is the United States that has proposed to reduce the number of Soviet troops in Europe. It is the United States that has proposed to reduce the number of Soviet troops in Europe. It is the United States that has proposed to reduce the number of Soviet troops in Europe.

Reagan in Europe: George Ball Is Pessimistic on Détente

U.S. Is Warned on a Troop Pullout in Europe

By DAVID SHIRMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 9 — A withdrawal of American forces from Europe might prompt the weaker nations of the Continent to make individual accommodations with the Soviet Union and encourage large parts of Western Europe to fall under Soviet influence, former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball said today.

"Without unity Europeans know that they could never defend themselves against an aggressive drive by the Soviet Union, with whom they share the European continent," Mr. Ball told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee.

Mr. Ball, long a specialist in European affairs, described suggestions that American troops might be withdrawn from Europe as alarming and said that the costs of maintaining a military

presence in Europe had been exaggerated.

"If we station our troops in Europe, it is in a sense a forward defense," he said. "In the event of troubles where they are most likely to be, particularly the Middle East, forces in Europe could be deployed far more quickly to the danger point."

Mr. Ball said the American troops in Europe had come to stand as a symbol

of commitment to a Europe that twice in this century was devastated by war before American military aid was offered. "The presence of American troops is an essential assurance that this won't happen again," he said. "This time we would be with them from the outset."

In defending the American commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Mr. Ball said that the menace that brought the alliance into existence in the first place, the Soviet Union, had not diminished. "The potential common enemy of the NATO members is fully as menacing today as when

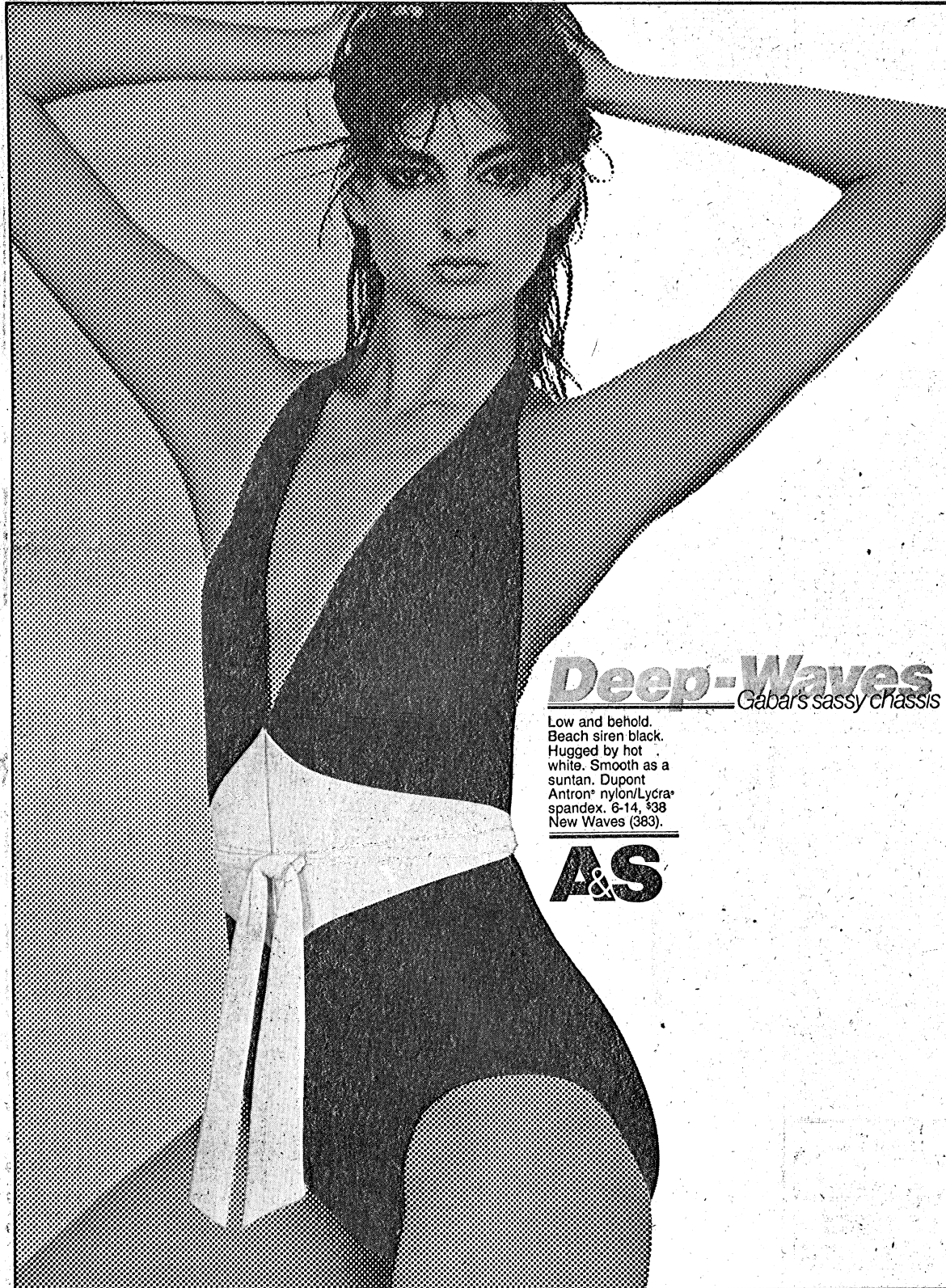
NATO was conceived," he said. "The Soviet Union still is expansionist, it still is brutal, it still is highly suspicious and xenophobic. If anything, NATO is more important now than it was in the past."

He urged, however, that American leaders seek to understand the geographical and historical impulses that led European nations to embrace détente while Americans recoiled from it. "Détente was oversold," he said. "It was unrealistically oversold. The Soviets were never going to change the habits of centuries. But it was very well received in Europe. Europeans have lived beside the Soviet Union for years

and face the menace to a greater extent than we do."

He added, moreover, that American appeals for trade sanctions with the Soviet Union often imposed more burdens on the allies than on the United States. "Sanctions," he said, "mean a great deal to Western Europe and they mean almost nothing to us except in regard to wheat."

Mr. Ball was sharply critical of President Reagan's "crusade for democracy" speech in London Monday. "I thought we had gotten over that a long time ago," he said.



Deep-Waves

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